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# Communism's Splintering

*National Parties Are Moving in Many Different Directions*

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By RAY VICKER

MUNICH—In Yugoslavia, several daring Slovenes recently called for establishment of a two-party system to end the Communists' political monopoly in that country. They were promptly jailed.

But that did not end the matter, as it might have in former years. The arrests produced a wave of criticism, with many of those protesting suggesting that "the question raised should be debated."

Few expect Yugoslavia to adopt a two-party system as long as Tito lives. But the fact that it was advocated at all tells a lot about changes under way not only in Yugoslavia, but also throughout the Red world.

The fragmentation of world communism is accelerating under pressure of the Russian-Red Chinese conflict. Even the threat of a hotter war in Southeast Asia has not driven the Communists together, as some Westerners had feared. Nationalism in Eastern Europe is growing much faster than the Russians had expected.

This speed of developments may be building to a crisis in the Red world. Nikita Khrushchev is driving hard for a showdown in the ideological struggle and the Russians recently invited Communist parties in 25 other countries to meet with them beginning December 15. Ostensibly this meeting is a preparatory one that would lay the groundwork for a world conference of 92 Red parties next year. However, some analysts in this Communist bloc monitoring center believe that once this meeting begins Khrushchev may immediately move to condemn the Red Chinese as heretics. Red China has been invited to the meeting, but is not expected to attend; Soviet delegates may well try to make the point that Red China's absence in itself separates that country from the world communist movement.

At the same time, Red China is maneuvering for position, trying hard to frustrate the Soviet objective. There are some analysts here who figure the recent North Vietnam-American confrontation in the Gulf of Tonkin may have been engineered by Red China to rally support behind her among Communists parties in other countries. To date the reaction of Communists around the world to the developments there only confirms how deeply the Reds are divided.

This at least is the conclusion of analysts at Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and the Institute for Study of the USSR, all of which regularly follow Soviet bloc publications and broadcasts from headquarters here.

## Splintering of Parties

"World communism is falling to pieces," declares Richard V. Burks, policy director of Radio Free Europe. "Ceylon now has five different Communist parties competing for power. Splinter parties are appearing everywhere. Rumania tells Russia there can be no father and son relationship in the Communist Party. Soviet power is being separated from any real world Communist movement."

The division basically involves Russia's desire for peaceful coexistence with the West, against Red China's belief that violence is necessary to overthrow capitalism. It also concerns the desire of both Moscow and Peking to be the "Rome" of communism, with the further possibility that border grievances contribute to the split.

Whether or not developments ultimately benefit the U.S. and the rest of the Free World may depend on the skill with which Western diplomats meet the situation. Certainly a Communist division into factions weakens the once-monolithic grouping and might, as Mr. Burks puts it, "make it more difficult for the fanatics to operate."

ric of world communism. Currently, the Communist blocs are taking shape—a pro-China, a pro-Russian and a "neutral" group. Yet these broad classifications only partially tell the story.

Various shades of ideology lie between the three main groups. Some Soviet analysts claim they can discern seven hues in the current Red spectrum. These are defined as: 1) Ultra-revolutionaries who advocate violent revolution while sticking to doctrinal tenets of Marx and Lenin to defeat capitalism. This group is led by Red China and includes parties in Albania, Malaya, Thailand and Cambodia. 2) Pro-Chinese, without being quite so radical. Included are parties in Indonesia and Japan. 3) Neutral parties which want no part of the ideological struggle if they can help it. This includes parties in Rumania, Cuba, Norway and various North African countries. Generally, these parties take a nationalist theme, often putting domestic affairs above world communism. 4) Neutral, but even more nationalistic and revisionist than those parties in Group Three. This category includes parties in Italy and Yugoslavia. 5) Pro-Moscow but so doctrinaire that they are Stalinist. The best example is East Germany's party. 6

Pro-Moscow to the point where Russia seems to be thinking for them. Included are parties in Mongolia, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. 7) Pro-Moscow, but leaning toward revisionism to the point where nationalism may obliterate some of their doctrinaire support for world communism. Hungary and Poland are examples.

Sometimes lines are blurred between these categories. In addition, the existence of Trotsky Communist parties, which favor a nationalistic form of socialism, also complicates the picture. And in individual countries, one or more of these ideologies may have taken root.

## Uncertain Support

In view of such a division, it is not clear just how much support Russia will be able to count on at the December meeting.

Grigory V. Yurev, analyst with the Institute for the Study of the USSR here, believes that in the rivalry for leadership of the so-called communist bloc, the Union is suffering se-